2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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cloth or paper and even three-ply wood are used. The cloth is prepared with starch and glossed with a smooth shell. The preliminary outline is drawn in ochre with a bamboo style (*penelak*) or with a lead pencil, and the colours then applied with a home-made brush (*penulí*), a piece of sharpened bamboo, the fibres of which have been loosened by pounding with a stone. The picture is finished with steady black lines drawn with the bamboo pen, with a second outline in reddish brown inside the black one for all the parts that represent flesh or wood, and the whole glossed once more.

Highly specialized branches of the graphic art are the illustrations of palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), and the making of leather puppets for shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*). In Singaradja there is a library of these manuscripts, the Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk, where are preserved some splendid old *lontars* with illustrations (or copies of them) such as the famous *Dampati Lelangon*, taken from the palace of the Radjas of Lombok at the time of the war; the *Tetumbalans* of Kamenuh and Sawan, the *Bhima Swarga*, *Pari Bhasa*, *Adi Parwa*, and so forth. These are masterpieces of the art of illustration, with miniature pictures incised with an iron style on the blades of the *lontar* palm, the scratch filled in with a mixture of soot and oil. These manuscripts are in the form of books. The *lontar* leaves are cut evenly into strips an inch wide and from a few inches to two feet in length. They are preserved between two boards of some precious wood cut to the size of the leaves and bound together by a cord that passes through a hole in the centre of each leaf.

The shadow puppets, the *wayang kulit* (described later in greater detail), are fashioned from buffalo parchment, cut out with special iron dyes into the most delicate lace and painted. The style of the *wayang* is highly conventionalized although it is considerably more realistic than its ancestor, the Javanese *wayang*. It is curious that the art of painting pictures is not altogether dependent on the *wayang* forms, as it happens to be in Java, where the whole of the art consists in reproductions of

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

the Hindu tradition. Probably it was for their benefit that the priests evolved the complicated differences in the birth of twins, whether there were two placentas or only one, whether the boy was born first, etc., and posited that only in one special combination of conditions could the offending parents be said to 'affront the Rajă'. Even on these points the priestly authorities do not agree, so that even more leeway is afforded by their varying doctrines. Theoretically a man could go from authority to authority seeking one whose version would absolve him from his wrong. In Pĕliatan the question came up in the case of twins whether the village should follow the dictates of the Padandă Bodă, who said that three *galungan's* could not be celebrated after the birth, or the words of the Padandă Siwă, who said that the *galungan* immediately following the purification might be celebrated. In Sanur where there are twenty-one Padandă's, the scope of opinions is infinite. But the ordinary Jabă, unaccustomed as he remains to Hindu thought, rarely appeals to the priest for an excuse to escape his dilemma.

Perhaps it should be explained that all investigations which touch upon the religion of Bali are hampered and obscured by the confused background of the people, about which very little is definitely known. The only histories are genealogies kept by the various royal families, which do not agree with each other, which "have holes in them and do not join" as one Balinese put it, and whose very names for the kings cannot be identified with the kings of the tales and legends kept alive in the minds of the people. If one tries to sift out what part of a rite or custom is of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin, and what part Old Indonesian, one gets into difficulties — for not only is every village different from every other village in Bali, but no purely Hindu village or household exists, and probably no Bali-agă village exists which has not been at some time and in some way influenced by Hindu custom. The great body of the religion of Bali seems to be ancestor worship, combined with a certain amount of animism in